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THE ROAD TO MASS ORGANIZATION OF PROLETARIAN CHILDREN

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The Road to Mass Organization of Proletarian Children

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THE ROAD TO MASS ORGANIZATION OF PROLETARIAN CHILDREN

(Decisions of the IV International Conference of Leaders of Communist Children's Leagues, Moscow, September, 1929, and the Resolution of the Enlarged Plenum of the Y. C. I., Moscow, December, 1929.)

INTRODUCTION

The situation in, and the activities of our Communist children's leagues have for the first time been given thorough consideration since the Fifth World Congress. The situation in our children's organizations was found unsatisfactory as early as September, 1928, the time of the Fifth World Congress, when the causes which were hampering the development of our organizations in the sphere of mass work were investigated. On the basis of experience since the Fifth World Congress, it must be laid down that the view taken of the situation then was absolutely correct. As in the general work of our youth leagues, the work in our children's leagues since the Congress revealed that some of the important questions were not clearly understood by the Fifth World Congress and that some of the clauses in the decisions of that Congress must now be altered.

A characteristic feature of the present period is not only the intensified struggle for the young generation, but also the fact that hand in hand with the radicalization and revolutionization of the masses of young and adult workers, the masses of children are also becoming more active and being drawn more and more into political life. The result is that the militancy of and the possibilities for organizing the proletarian children increase.

It is the task of the Communist children's leagues to utilize and develop the growing political interest and activity of the proletarian children in the struggle of the revolutionary proletariat. The task of work and struggle of our Pioneer organizations is now on a higher level than a little while ago. The task of our organizations is to go over from only agitation and propaganda work which was the substance of their work until recently, to intensive militant activity, *i. e.* to the mobilization

and organization of the broad masses of children. The Fourth International Leaders' Conference and also the Fifth Congress of the Y.C.I. have quite correctly emphasized the importance of carrying through a decisive turn. The winning over of the masses of children for the struggle, the organization of that struggle and the development of the Communist Children's leagues into genuine revolutionary mass organizations of proletarian children — that is the goal the Communist children's leagues must have before them now.

But also in an ideological respect the past conferences marked a step forward for our children's movement. All tendencies opposed to drawing the children into struggle have been severely combated. Our Communist children's movement is an educational organization, but this does not mean that it is an ordinary "educational" organization, its educational work is to be carried out on the basis of struggle.

Children are not adults. They need amusement, play and recreation. This does not mean that participation in the struggle and recreation and play exclude each other. We must find methods of daily struggle which will appeal to the children, and find forms of play which will contain an element of education and training for the struggle. In this respect our organizations have still much to learn. They imitate too mechanically the organizations of adults and the forms and methods used by them are far from being suitable for children.

Then there is the decisive question, the question of close contact between the children's and the youth leagues. Heretofore the guidance of children's organizations by the Y.C.L.'s and C.P.'s has in general been unsatisfactory. The Bolshevization process in the Communist Parties, the energetic carrying through of the turn in the work of the Y.C.L.'s will improve this situation and guarantee the development of the Pioneer Leagues into real mass militant organizations. Our Pioneer organizations must actually become the reserve forces for the Y.C.L.'s.

INTERNATIONAL CHILDREN'S BUREAU, E.C. Y.C.I.

THE SITUATION IN THE COMMUNIST CHILDREN'S MOVEMENT, AND ITS IMMEDIATE TASKS

1. The fact that the turn decided upon at the Fifth World Congress of the Y.C.I. was not carried through, has had a bad effect on the children's movement. The most important countries (Germany, France and Britain) are going through a crisis. The situation is very unsatisfactory also in most of the other leagues, though very favorable premises for our work exist. Characteristic features of the situation in our children's leagues are the numerical strength of the Pioneer organizations as compared with the Y.C.L. and Party organizations, instead of being broader than the Party and youth organizations, are weaker, their activity is not suitable for a children's organization, they underestimate the increased political activity of the children, they have not been the organizers of the activity of the workers' children. Only a decisive turn towards mass work, a complete departure from sectarianism and isolation, a fundamental change in the wrong system of work can clear the road for the further development of our children's leagues into mass organizations.

2. Capitalist rationalization is making the condition of workers' children worse than ever before and drawing more and more children into industry. Bourgeois schools are adapting themselves more and more to capitalist rationalization and to preparations for imperialist wars. The fascist, social-fascist and religious organizations are being put to an ever-increasing extent at the service of imperialist education both inside and outside of school. They are centrally organized and subsidized, receiving much support from the state, the municipalities and from individuals. The social-fascists work especially under the cloak of pacifist and "League of Nations" propaganda and lately the Boy Scouts are wearing the same mask in order to conceal their real face, as reactionary organizations for the preparation of war. The Communist children's movement is now confronted with an enemy which is becoming increasingly dangerous.

3. The determined course of the Y.C.I. for the development of Bolshevist mass organizations necessitates that the Y.C.L. devote the greatest attention to the children's movement, since

the organization of children's mass leagues is one of the most important tasks in carrying through the turn to mass work. That the militancy of the proletarian children is increasing can be seen not only in the growing participation of the working class children in strikes and in mass demonstrations of adults, but also in a whole series of school strikes in various countries, some of which have for the first time been organized and conducted by Pioneers. The fact that hand in hand with radicalization and revolutionization of the masses of workers the broad sections of proletarian children are becoming active and interested in politics brings forward the question of their organization as a most urgent task for all sections of the Y.C.I.

4. The new tactics of the Party and the Young Communist League must find expression also in the children's movement. This must first of all be accomplished by transferring the children's leagues into organizations engaged in struggles and in mass work instead of having the education of the children as their chief object, as is still largely the case now. The children's organizations must, however, under all circumstances, refrain from automatically copying the forms and methods used by the Party and the Young Communist League which give the children's leagues the character of children's political parties.

Considering that the Communist children's movement is supposed to train the proletarian children on the basis of struggle, that it must be wider than that of the youth movement and must meet with the interests and requirements of the children, the Y.C.I. rejects all Right and Left deviations, especially the Social-Democratic outlook which stands exclusively for educational work which greatly hampers the activities of our organization. These deviations are expressed first of all in the underestimation of the importance of the social-fascist children's organizations and in a wrong view as to the attitude of the proletarian children's organizations towards them. Then there is the wrong view of the Boy Scouts, the disbelief in the possibility of influencing and embracing the majority of proletarian children, sectarian isolation and slavish imitation of the methods used by the Party and by the Young Communist League.

Taking these principles as a foundation for our work, the Communist children's leagues must carry through a determined change in the sphere of mass work along the following lines:

(a) Wide masses of proletarian children should be mobilized for concrete slogans and watchwords comprehensible to children in connection with the economic and political struggles of the adults. Above all the interests of the child workers should be defended. Special children's sections should be formed in the Red trade unions; other organizational forms can only be applied in order to get hold of these circles of children. Struggles of the working children are to be started and organized and at the same time a sharp course must be taken against the bourgeois school and against social-fascism in the schools, for school strikes and school struggles. Participation in strikes must not be only a solidarity action, the children of the strikers must be gotten hold of, the mass of the children must be mobilized in support of them, the struggle must be carried right into the schools. In the struggle for the masses of proletarian children the Communist children's organizations must set up a united front of all proletarian children against the reactionary and social-fascist children's organizations. At the same time, a struggle is to be carried on against imperialist training and war preparations not merely by issuing opposition slogans as has been the case hitherto but in conjunction with training for Red defense.

(b) These militant tasks can be carried out only with the application of live methods and forms of work suitable for children. Instead of the work hitherto done which suppresses the activity of the individual Pioneer, a system must be instituted to give scope to the activity of the children, to be attractive to the various sections of the children representing their various interests, and making each Pioneer responsible for the work and the struggle. The greatest attention must be paid to the training of a body of functionaries to be in charge of the organization. Systematic and successful work among the masses of children can be carried out only if a strong kernel of active Pioneers is organized. The institution of a system of school delegates (of workers' children) is an urgent task. The holding of delegate

and children's conferences provides forms suitable for all organizations and is an immediate task. Side by side with school, factory or special sections of children's papers, mass children's papers should be issued. Revolutionary competitions must become an important means in our children's movement in raising the activity of the whole organization.

(c) Planned-out work among the masses of children presupposes that the organizations are formed on the basis where most of the children are to be found. First of all there must be nuclei in schools and factories where the children study and work. In this connection it is also necessary to have organizations embracing children on a residential or a tenement basis. The Pioneer organizations must understand the interests and requirements of the children. The Pioneer organizations should be surrounded with a network of various auxiliary organizations. The organization of children's sections in the Red sport organizations, in freethinkers' societies, and other revolutionary bodies, is essential. Efforts must also be made to have the co-operation of all these organizations with the Pioneer organization.

(d) A particularly urgent task of the Y.C.L. is the creation of groups of leaders and the raising of their qualifications. Among the measures to be taken are the renewal and enlargement of the number of leaders in the children's movement by drawing in proletarian elements; the creation of competent leading organs in the national and local organizations of the League; systematic schooling of the leaders.

5. Another very urgent task is to capture the influence among worker and peasant children in the colonies. With the help of trade unions, the Anti-Imperialist League, the revolutionary peasant organizations and the auxiliary organizations of the Young Communist League, legal auxiliary, organizations of an economic and cultural character should be formed. Work must also be started among children in the white terror countries, especially in the Balkans and in fascist Italy.

In spite of repression and persecution, which is bound to increase owing to the development of mass and militant work, the children's leagues must carry on a struggle for legality with

all the means at their disposal, through the mobilization of wide sections of children and workers. In case of the Pioneer organizations being outlawed, legal forms of the children's movement must be developed. If that is impossible, we must carry on work illegally, making preparations now.

6. More effective guidance and leadership of the children's leagues is certainly one of the most important premises regarding the taking up of mass work by the children's leagues. In this respect some Young Communist Leagues have made serious mistakes and have not done justice to their tasks as leaders of the children's leagues. The work of the children's leagues must not be divorced and isolated from all other youth work. The leading committees of the Y.C.L.'s must conduct the children's movement in their daily activity, constantly control it, regularly point out definite tasks, and undertake investigations as to their work.

Neither has the work of the International Children's Bureau been satisfactory. The importance of carrying through the decisions of the Fifth World Congress was not brought forcibly enough to the notice of the leagues, and the turn which had been decided upon was mentioned for the first time, in a concrete form, only at the Fourth International Leaders' Conference. One must also admit that political leadership in the International Children's Bureau through the E.C. Y.C.I. hardly exists.

7. Generally speaking, the C.P.'s have not yet realized the importance and role of the revolutionary children's movement. The Parties which give the children's league ideological and material support are exceptions. It is absolutely necessary that the Y.C.L.'s place forcibly before the Party organizations the question of practical support to the children's movement. This support should not only be given to the executive organs, but above all to the lower organizations, in the form of patronage of Party factory nuclei over school nuclei, children's factory nuclei or Pioneer groups, etc. It is of great importance that the Parties should include in their plan the activity of the children's movement, assigning to it definite tasks within the framework of the general tasks of the Communist movement as a

whole. Another urgent necessity is adequate space to the children's movement in the Party press, and regular special children's corners in its columns. The revolutionary mass organizations must also be convinced to give practical help to the children's movement.

THESES ON THE SITUATION AND THE TASKS OF THE COMMUNIST CHILDREN'S MOVEMENT

The Fifth Congress of the Y.C.I. gave a clear analysis of the situation in the proletarian children's movement based on the decisions of the Sixth Congress of the C.I. The Fifth Congress found the state of affairs in the Communist children's movement absolutely unsatisfactory. It stated that the reason for it was inadequate mass work, the absence of systematic mass work, neglect of the Communist children's movement by the Y.C.L., and the absence of support from the C.P. It decided upon the tasks of the Communist children's movement on the basis of this analysis of the international situation.

The correctness of the estimate given by the Sixth Congress of the C.I. of the third period of post-war capitalism as a period in which the general crisis is maturing, in which the internal and external contradictions of imperialism are sharpening, in which preparations for imperialist war against the Soviet Union are increasing, is becoming clearer every day. All this leads to inevitable imperialist wars, to great class conflicts, to a development of a new revolutionary tide in the outstanding capitalist countries, and to great anti-imperialist revolutions in the colonial countries.

This period of acute class struggles confronts the Y.C.L. with the problem of capturing the majority of young workers, the task of carrying through a complete turn in its general work and activity, and equally brings the Communist children's leagues, owing to the growing part the proletarian children play in the present period, face to face with the problem of embracing the masses of proletarian children and of connecting them with the struggle of the working class.

I.—The Position and the Role of the Proletarian Children in the Present Period

1. The period of accentuated class struggles sharply raises before the C.P.'s and the Y.C.L.'s the problem of organizing the working class children for the struggle for the emancipation of the proletariat from the chains of capitalism and for the dictatorship of the proletariat as an immediate aim. The bourgeoisie and the Social-Democracy wage a sharp struggle for the growing generation of the proletariat.

2. Capitalist rationalization greatly aggravates the conditions of the workers and constitutes a basis for greater employment of proletarian children in industry. The increased number of accidents and occupational diseases increases the rate of infant mortality as a result of capitalist rationalization.

3. The bourgeois school is being constantly more adapted to the preparations for imperialist war. This finds expression in direct propaganda, military training, open and active support of the bourgeois and fascist children's organizations, camouflaging of the military preparations by means of pacifist phrases (propaganda in favor of the imperialist League of Nations idea, etc.).

4. The bourgeoisie is engaged in a systematic struggle to influence and embrace the masses of proletarian children *outside of the school.* It creates social-fascist, nationalist, religious and sport children's organizations. By means of these and with the aid and support of the capitalist governments the bourgeoisie seeks to influence the masses of working class children inside and outside the school. Radio and the press also serve this purpose of capitalist education as a means of preparation for imperialist war.

5. Ever larger sections of children are being affected by the process of radicalization. They take part in the industrial and political actions and struggles of the working class and there are independent children's strikes in schools and factories (Germany, Poland, America), expressing the radicalization of the working class children.

The bourgeoisie and the Social-Democracy use every means of moulding the mass of radical children and of keeping them

from the influence of the young and adult workers. If the bourgeois school, the children's organizations, the radio, cinema and press are of no avail, terror is resorted to. The bourgeoisie and the social-fascists resort to persecution and suppression of the revolutionary children's movement.

II.—Development of the Communist Children's Movement

1. The characteristic features of the children's movement today are:

(a) There is a crisis in our leagues in Germany, France, England and Austria.

(b) The American league made great progress up to 1928, but is not growing now. There is no progress to be observed in Czecho-Slovakia, Norway and Canada.

(c) There is a numerical increase in our organizations in Sweden, Finland, Poland, Mongolia and Switzerland.

(d) The Chinese children's league was in 1927 of the nature of a revolutionary mass movement; it has been practically destroyed by the White terror, and is now continuing under most difficult conditions. The children's league in Mexico has in the past few years become a relatively strong organization.

(e) New organizations have been founded in New Zealand, Australia, Palestine, South Africa and Belgium. There is a rudimentary organization in Tana Tuva.

This situation in our international movement must be considered extremely unsatisfactory. The fact that the situation is so bad when the conditions are favorable for development and when the Social-Democratic children's organizations are making progress is very serious. Should there be no change in the very near future and should we not be able to carry out our class line also in countries where our organizations are still developing, we shall be faced with an international crisis in the children's movement. *Only by a decisive turn towards mass work, linked up with a fundamental alteration of the present wrong system of work, can the international crisis be averted and the road cleared for further development of our organizations.*

2. The outstanding subjective causes retarding the development of our children's movement are:

(a) Insufficient militancy, bad methods and a wrong system, with no systematic mass work.

(b) Inadequacy, and some times complete absence, of real political leadership on the part of the Y.C.L., a low level and constant fluctuation of leaders, no assistance from the C.P., or very little of it.

Concretely this is expressed in the fact that:

(a) The political activity of the children's leagues is very unsatisfactory. The struggles of the working class are practically made no use of as a means of raising this activity. The Communist children's organizations do not organize the activity of the children. The May Day events in Berlin, a series of children's strikes and participation in struggles of adult workers in Germany, Czecho-Slovakia, France, etc., bear this out. The result is that some of our organizations are still simple educational organizations and not the exponents of the militancy of the workingclass children. With the exception of some attempts *to fight in the interests of the exploited children* this problem has not been solved by any of the leagues. The organization of the children of the unemployed and children who have particularly bad conditions is given no attention. The activity of the children's leagues is mostly expressed in assisting the Y.C.L.'s and the C.P.'s.

(b) Our children's organizations are in most cases of a sectarian character and are isolated from the masses. The organizational structure does not meet with the requirements of a militant organization; there are but few school nuclei and practically no factory nuclei. The question of creation of proletarian children's auxiliary organizations has as yet not been considered.

(c) It was a big political mistake that no systematic struggle was waged against the social-fascist children's organizations. There is no systematic struggle against the Boy Scouts. The religious organizations which influence large sections of children are given practically no attention at all.

(d) The rigidity and imitation of methods used by the or-

ganizations of adults are copied by the children's leagues. This gives them the character of "children's political parties," and the result is that the children's need of play, sport and collective work and study is not satisfied. The inadequate adaptation of work to the requirements and demands of the children of the various ages causes insufficient development of initiative and self-activity in the organizations.

(e) The opportunist tendencies in our own ranks concerning the fighting methods and organizational structure are not combated with sufficient vigor. The underestimation of the significance of the social-fascist children's organizations and the disbelief in the possibility of reaching and influencing the majority of the proletarian children are also signs of opportunism. The Y.C.L.'s do not devote sufficient attention to the development of new leaders for our children's movement. The dissolution of important organizations is a result of the lack of leaders in many cases. The Communist Parties, with the exception of the C.P.S.U., give our organizations no support and cling to their traditional Social-Democratic conceptions on the question of "education for children" (but not through struggle), which only hampers our activity.

3. The good sides of our mass and militant work consist in the following:

(a) Participation in a number of strikes and organization of strikers' children in special clubs in America, actions under Pioneer leadership in schools of Berlin, Hamburg and other German towns against the celebration of Constitution Day, organization of the first conferences of proletarian children in America and Germany, campaigns for the boycott of Empire Day in England.

(b) An increase in the number of children's papers, the circulation of the papers being in all countries greater than the membership; the number of school papers has considerably increased; there are the beginnings of a system of school delegates in Germany.

(c) Practically all Leagues have begun to organize summer camps. In many countries there are rudimentary living newspapers and a beginning has been made in training the active Pioneers.

(d) The number of Pioneers and leaders visiting the U.S.S.R. with the purpose of establishing closer contact with the Russian organizations, increases yearly. Contact between children's leagues in capitalist countries has improved (delegations, international camps, etc.).

4. Last year's development of the Communist children's movement in the U.S.S.R. is characterized by an increased political role of the Pioneers in the general struggle of the working class in the sphere of socialist construction, development of activity and self-activity of the children in connection with the introduction of a new system and new methods in many organizations, which brought the children closer to the leaders. Fluctuation has greatly diminished and the organizations have grown. The national and local meets have fully confirmed this.

With all this there are difficulties to be recorded in the development of the Pioneer organizations even in the Soviet Union. The leaders are unsatisfactory; insufficient work is being done amongst the masses of children, especially the proletarian children; slow transition on the part of a large number of organizations to the new forms and methods; inadequate aid on the part of the public (before the meet). The increase in membership is slow. The chief difficulties lie in the slow rate of adoption of live forms and methods of work and poor leadership on the part of the Y.C.L., the slowness in catching up with the requirements arising out of the period of reconstruction and socialist construction in the Soviet Union.

III.—The Chief Tasks of the Communist Children's Leagues

1. Within the framework of the general political tasks of the C.P. and the Y.C.L. it is the task of the Communist children's leagues to win over the majority of the proletarian children and to wage a struggle along the following lines:

(a) Against capitalist rationalization.
(b) Against imperialist war.
(c) Against fascism and social fascism.

The carrying out of these tasks will increase the terror of the bourgeoisie against our children's movement. The broad masses of proletarian children as well as the adults must be mobilized for a struggle for legality of our organizations, while Pioneer leaders should simultaneously be prepared for underground work in case of being outlawed.

A prerequisite for the carrying out of these tasks is a decisive turn towards mass work in connection with real political leadership on the part of the Y.C.L. and an energetic struggle against all reformist and opportunist views.

2. The decisive turn towards mass work must be particularly expressed in:

(a) A mobilization of the broad masses of proletarian children for concrete aims and slogans of the political and economic struggle understood by the children. Constant representation of the interests especially of the exploited sections of the proletarian children. Participation in the most important political struggles and actions of the Y.C.L.'s and the C.P.'s.

(b) Intensified struggle against the Social-Democratic organizations, especially the "Red Falcon," against the fascist, nationalist and clerical organizations. Joint struggle with other proletarian children's organizations under Pioneer leadership.

(c) Systematic activity towards establishment of school and factory nuclei as the real basis of the movement.

(d) Application of the system of "transmission belts" through the formation of special organizations for the child laborers, cultural organizations, sport sections, atheist groups, etc. Special attention must be paid to the formation of auxiliary and camouflage organizations in countries of the White terror.

(e) Change of the methods and elaboration of a system from top to bottom which will help to overcome isolation and to establish contact with the masses of proletarian children. Better adaptation of the general work to the psychological characteristics of children, more interesting work in the children's leagues.

(f) Creation of real children's mass papers, good literature for children, organization of a children's correspondents' movement.

(g) Use of methods which would make it possible for every Pioneer to take an active part in the work as a necessary condition for the development of initiative and self-activity and raising of the role of the active Pioneers as a driving force stimulating the work of the Pioneers in general. Leadership of the nuclei and groups by active Pioneers, and systematic work amongst the latter.

(h) Renewal and enlargement of the number of leaders in the children's movement, to be drawn from the good proletarian elements and mass workers. Creation of competent leading organs in the national and local institutions of children's leagues. Systematic schooling of the leaders.

(i) Constant political guidance, control and formulation of tasks on the part of the Y.C.L. Greatest possible support and aid from the Party and the proletarian mass organizations.

IV.—The Immediate Tasks of the Communist Children's Leagues and the Carrying Out of the Turn

1. (a) Daily struggle for the economic interests of the children in close contact with the support of the Party and the youth in their political struggles, in spite of the interference on the part of the bourgeois State and the reformist trade unions.

(b) Active participation in strikes and lockouts not only in the form of securing material aid for the strikers by means of collections and entertainments, but also in the form of active participation by means of influencing the proletarian children and carrying the struggle into the schools. Participation of the children in the economic struggles of the adults must not be merely in the form of solidarity action, but should be of the nature of a struggle for the economic demands of the children themselves.

(c) Special attention should be paid to the organization of proletarian children. This task can be accomplished only if auxiliary organizations will be created for the various sections of working children. These organizations must assume rigid organizational forms and be able to fight in the interests of the children.

(d) The organization of the exploited sections of children must be carried on in close contact with the trade union revolu-

tionary organization of the adults. Wherever possible, children's sections should be set up in the Red unions. If for practical reasons this is impossible, other forms should be found for the industrial organization of the exploited children. The organization of children in the reformist unions can be permitted only if this would strengthen the revolutionary opposition.

(e) The W.I.R. is a proletarian mass organization which must be chiefly utilized in order to bring the broad sections of proletarian children under our influence. This is particularly necessary in time of strikes and lockouts in which connection the W.I.R. organizes the striking children in clubs and other organizations. Further it will be the task of the W.I.R. to organize the children through the establishment and organization of reading rooms, homes, clubs, festivals, camps and excursions. All this work must naturally be done in close contact with and under the political guidance of the Pioneer organizations, in which connection the Pioneers must take active part.

2. The struggle in the school must also be carried on in connection with the economic struggle. The struggle against religious education, against preparations and propaganda in favor of war, linked up with an energetic struggle against the social-fascist and bourgeois children's organizations, is also an urgent task of the children's leagues. The organization of this struggle is, however, possible only if we set up a network of delegates with the object of linking up the Pioneer organizations with all schools and classes. It is essential to organize frequent meetings and conferences of delegates. Wherever no school nuclei exist it is particularly essential to gain influence in the school through the delegates.

3. Against imperialist education, for Red defense! The struggle against growing militarization and nationalist propaganda which constitutes an essential part of school education is not waged with sufficient vigor. The tasks of our organizations are not to fight against military training as such, but against its imperialist character. In cases of optional military training the Communist children's organizations must carry on an energetic campaign against participation of the proletarian children, and

do their utmost to discredit the enterprise. Wherever military training is compulsory the fight has to be carried on by means of internal disruption and elucidation of the imperialist and anti-labor character of these military preparations.

The struggle against imperialist education and war preparation can be also carried on in connection with Red defense training. This must constitute a part of the turn in our work. The creation of children's revolutionary defense organizations, especially in time of strikes both in town and country, should be encouraged. Wherever the opponent and fascist organizations attack us most, special forms must be adopted of training the mass of proletarian children in the spirit of Red defense. Collaboration with the Red sport organizations and the organization of sport competitions and games are a good means of work along this line.

Our children's leagues must make it their task to explain to the masses of children the importance of defending the fatherland of the proletarian children all over the world, the U.S.S.R., the role and significance of the Red Army, as an army of the world proletariat. In practice, this should find expression in individual and collective protests in the schools, against the slanders spread by the teachers, under the slogan: "The enemies of the U.S.S.R. are the enemies of the workers and of the proletarian children."

In connection with the political tasks of strengthening the international ties it is necessary to acquaint the children with the process of socialist construction in the Soviet Union, the Five-Year Plan and the life of the proletarian children in the U.S.S.R.

4. United front of all toiling children, struggle against the opponents. In the struggle against war preparations and for the influence on workers' children, the children's organization must create a united front of all proletarian children, against the bourgeois and social democratic children's organizations.

The most important and most dangerous opponents in the European countries are the social-fascist children's organizations. The social-fascist character of these organizations and their pseudo-radical slogans (especially of the "Red Falcons") must be exposed before the proletarian children by means of sys-

tematic propaganda in the schools and on the playgrounds. The struggle against the Boy Scout movement which embraces large sections of proletarian children must be conducted in conjunction with the struggle against military training and imperialist education. Work must also be done in exposing the anti-labor character of the masked "neutral" organizations.

The best means of fighting against the opponents is the employment of united front tactics from below with regard to the proletarian children belonging to the opponent organizations. These tactics can give considerable success especially in time of strikes. It is necessary to utilize all inner contradictions in the Boy Scout movement and to use in connection with that the tactics of the united front from below and above, with the object of splitting away the proletarian children from the opponent organizations.

V.—Work in the Colonial and Semi-Colonial Countries

In view of the fact that as a result of the class struggles and antagonisms between the imperialists, the colonies are becoming of increasing importance, the entire Communist movement is faced with the burning problem of winning over the masses of workers and peasants in those countries.

The vast number of children employed in industry and agriculture raises before us also the immediate task of starting a broad revolutionary children's movement in the colonies and semi-colonies. The chief content of Pioneer work must consist in an effort to improve the working and living conditions of the children, as was done especially by the children's movement in China in 1927-28. Then the children must take part in the revolutionary struggle of the toiling masses, especially against imperialism and its allies in the colonies.

Pioneer organizations should be set up by the trade unions, the Anti-Imperialist League, the revolutionary peasant organizations and the auxiliary youth organizations. It is a particular task to organize legal auxiliary, and camouflage organizations of an educational character in the colonies.

While supporting the Communist children's movement in

China, special attention must be paid to the creation of children's organizations in the industrial centres of India. The children of the imperialist countries must establish contact with the children in the colonies and support in every way the activities of the latter and carry on an energetic struggle against colonial propaganda in the schools.

VI.—The Struggle for Legality

As a result of the accentuated class antagonisms and the carrying on of militant mass work on the part of our organizations, repressions and persecutions will increase in proportion to our movement. It must be our task to fight in every way for legal existence through the mobilization of the broad masses of children and toilers by means of demonstrations, meetings, etc., under the leadership of special committees of the C.P.'s and Y.C.L.'s and the proletarian mass organizations. Should our organizations be outlawed they must not cease their activities but should reorganize their ranks.

Only by means of utilization of auxiliary children's organizations, the creation of new "independent" children's organizations, utilization of clubs and playgrounds, drawing in of the I.L.D., the W.I.R. and other proletarian organizations, and the development of real mass work, is it possible to defy the law. In case of illegality, the illegal school and factory nuclei will have to become the foundation of the Communist children's organizations and supply the active elements for work in the legal camouflage children's organizations.

In the organization of theatrical performances and camps and in all other measures of this type, the Pioneers must play a leading part. The leaders of the Communist children's organization must beforehand get ready to work underground, and particular attention should be paid to the training of the leaders of the children's movement in the Y.C.L.'s and the Party organizations. (The possibility of drawing non-Party sympathizers into the leadership of auxiliary organizations is not out of the question).

INSTRUCTIONS ON THE SYSTEM AND METHODS OF WORK IN THE PIONEER LEAGUES

The Fourth International Conference of Pioneer Leaders goes on record that the decisions of the Third Conference concerning the methods and system of work have not been carried out. The result is that the introduction of live forms suitable for children have not been realized in the daily work (living newspapers, camps), that the daily work consists too much in assistance to the adult organizations and that no systematic mass work is being done amongst the children, that there is no uniform live system of work either in the nuclei or any other organizations, including the International Children's Bureau, that there is no political guidance given by the Y.C.L.'s, that there are no auxiliary organizations which would help to bring the unorganized children and those belonging to opponent organizations into our children's leagues. The Fourth International Conference of Pioneer Leaders sets the task of carrying through a serious turn towards mass work in conformity with the decisions of the Fifth World Congress of the Y.C.I. This turn towards mass work can be accomplished only if the children's leagues set up a uniform instrument for the solution of their tasks; this instrument is to be found in a system of work. In turning towards mass work the forms and methods hitherto used are of no avail, the children's leagues must develop new forms of struggle, they must adopt methods more suitable to the requirements of the children, to their interests and to their psychological needs.

How is the System of Work to be Organized?

1. The system of work must make it possible for the children's leagues to reach the mass of children, to mobilize them, to establish close contact with them. It must further the Communist education of the children. If the system does not lead to that; it is a bad system.

The Existing System

The system now in existence is wrong. The chief shortcomings of it are:

(a) The predominance of residential organizations and the weakness of school and factory nuclei.

(b) The absence of systematic daily work among the masses and the failure to understand the sentiments of the workingclass children.

(c) The abstract activities and lack of daily recruiting and agitational work of the Pioneers.

(d) The suppression of initiative and self-activity of the Pioneers by the leaders, the bad division of labor which does not take into consideration the abilities of the children and their interests, and the resulting artificially created inactivity of most Pioneers.

(e) The isolated and family character of the Pioneer Leagues.

(f) The insufficient concrete guidance of the children's leagues by the Y.C.L.'s; the absence of a serious study of the situation of the workingclass children and the processes going on among them and the Pioneers, the inadequate evaluation of experience, lack of knowledge concerning the organization to be led, lack of control of activity.

If the children's leagues are to become mass leagues, this badly functioning system must be discarded and replaced by another system, a system of mass work.

The System of Mass Work

The system of mass work presupposes:

1. That the Pioneer organization is located where the working-class children can be organized in masses; where the workingclass children are under capitalist influence, *i.e.*, where they are oppressed and exploited, a Communist mass organization of children must be built in the capitalist and colonial countries on the basis of school and factory nuclei.

2. That every plan of work is made by all members.

3. That the Pioneers themselves are the responsible organizers and fighters, that each nucleus adopts a uniform system of division of labor and every member is given a concrete task, that the activity of the Pioneers is utilized and that work is distributed according to abilities and inclinations of the members.

4. That the nucleus works against bourgeois education and uses every means in order to bring up the Pioneers as energetic, brave and active fighters.

5. That there is no contradiction between the inside work of the nucleus and the group, and the tasks of the Pioneers among the masses, and that the nucleus or group be the concentration point of all work; that it takes into account all the requirements of the children in order to train the Pioneers to be Communists.

6. That all experiences, successes and failures made by the children are discussed and generalized by them.

7. That the Young Communist League gives the children's league concrete and political guidance, that the leaders earnestly study the processes going on among the proletarian children, that lessons are drawn from the experiences and that the organization is concretely investigated and controlled so that a system of concrete guidance is worked out.

The Nuclei Must Employ Live Methods and Forms in Order to Meet with the Requirements of All Children and Embrace All Phases of the Life of the Children

The children's leagues must not simply copy the forms and methods used by the Y.C.L.'s and the Parties; they should find live forms of work of interest to the children. The first task is to educate their members to be young Communists. For this, certain ceremonial forms of work are necessary (the ceremonial acceptance of new members, greetings, taking the oath, Pioneer rules of conduct). But these should not isolate the Pioneers from the masses. For this it is necessary to bring to the members, and through them to active workingclass children, certain habits and knowledge which the Third International Leaders' Conference laid down as a basis for the Pioneers who are to be the future members of the Y.C.L. and the Party. Every Pioneer must be able to help the children of the toilers and to organize the oppressed children. But he must also take the initiative during play-time and in sports, walks, etc., and take part in the struggles of the adults by organizing children.

In order to develop these habits in a Pioneer it is necessary

to take the interests of the various ages of the children into consideration. In this connection the Pioneers in big school nuclei should be divided according to the classes they attend and also in sections (in the camp) in dividing the work. The initiative of the Pioneers can be enhanced by the organization of contests of various kinds. The system of various ranks and individual contests is to be rejected and instead of the passive school methods now in vogue in many leagues, live and interesting forms of work should be adopted satisfying the intellectual and manual requirements of the children in games and amusements. The Russian league in this respect points the way to the others. Greater emphasis must be laid on such forms as sports, games, the living newspaper, excursions, orchestras, camps, films, wall newspapers, Red corners, which should really be made to serve the revolutionary struggle and the requirements of mass work.

The Training of Active Pioneers

Groups of active Pioneers to be responsible for all work of the organization should be developed in all leagues. These active Pioneers should be trained locally and nationally. Work among the active Pioneers is one of the best methods of raising the activity and initiative of the Pioneers and of bringing about good work and discipline. It is not enough to train the active Pioneers in general, they should be trained for the performance of special tasks.

For instance the organization of special conferences of leaders of school nuclei, of secretaries of Pioneer papers, of correspondents, newspaper boys and agents. Active Pioneers trained thus guarantee that the league will develop into a mass organization. Apart from special conferences, political study circles should be organized for active Pioneers adapted to their various ages. The principal problems of Communism should be brought home to the Pioneers and their interest in these problems should be stimulated. Special manuals should be written for these schools.

Spheres of Work of the Nucleus

The nucleus must become the concentration point of all work of the Pioneer leagues. It must engage in all spheres of work

and the work of the individual Pioneers. Every member of the nucleus must be the organizer in the struggle of the children for their economic, political and cultural interests in the school, in the place of employment, on the playgrounds, in the streets and blocks, in the institutions of the bourgeoisie, in the nationalist and fascist organizations, and at home.

New Forms of Current Work

The following forms of support and development have been brought forward in the struggles in the schools:

1. *School Meetings.* These can take place during recesses and after school hours to discuss concretely the problems of the school. These meetings need not consist of dry speeches and reports; they should be enlivened by means of living newspapers, lantern slides, films, orchestras, questions and answers, teachers' trials, etc. Meetings during recesses can be held also in illegal organizations.

2. *The School Paper* is the most popular method of struggle. It need not consist of long articles, but should contain such articles and reports on school questions linked up with general political issues. It should have caricatures, light verses, stories, questions and answers, dialogues and jokes.

3. *Leaflets, circulars, school telegrams* to all children, open letters to all pupils, small and striking stickers with slogans preferably in verse, containing material in support of the struggle, can be used apart from the school paper.

The struggle in the schools has hitherto been waged in the following forms:

1. Discussion with the pupils and teachers.
2. Proclamation of oral and written demands.
3. Refusal to take part in Jingoistic and religious lessons.
4. Boycott of some teachers and singing revolutionary songs.
5. Elections of school representatives.
6. Sending of delegations to the authorities with demands.
7. Written protests against punishment, bad food, high expenditures, through the Communist parliamentarians by means of collecting signatures from the schools.

8. Leaving school when threatened by the teacher.
9. School strikes.

The organization of these struggles should be exclusively the work of the nucleus. School delegates should be elected in all classes to help in this work. These delegates are to hold regular conferences both locally and on a city scale.

Delegates should be elected at school meetings to conferences of working-class children to decide what action is to be taken in connection with various campaigns (August 1, May 1, International Children's Week, November 7, Russian delegations, etc.). Students' committees or committees for the election of these are to be chosen for the performance of definite tasks by the delegates, school representatives and representatives of parents' organizations.

The Nuclei Must Pay Special Attention to the Participation of Children in Strikes and Lockouts of Adults and to the Organization of Working Children

The following are the most important forms of children's participation in strikes:

1. *The meetings* of these children (in clubs of working children) must take place in the evening. Apart from discussing the condition of the children in the given industry the meetings should be enlivened by living newspapers, music, lantern slides, cinemas, theatre, which should be presented in an interesting form. The children themselves should report through their correspondent circles on the situation and also through a

2. *Paper of the children of the given industry.* This paper should report on the condition of the children in the various spheres of work. The paper of the children working on farms should write on the children in agriculture; for the children of a city district special papers should be issued. These papers should deal with the causes of child labor and the struggle against child labor. They should advocate the children's demands. They should contain funny stories, caricatures of slave-drivers of children, and should by their form be of interest to the children.

3. *Songs and collective recitals* are also of agitational and organizational value.

It is necessary to establish rigid organizational forms for these working children and to create a delegate body also here for permanent contact between the children's league and the working children. The tasks of these delegates are to be the organization of working children in the various parts of the city, the establishment of contact with the unions, with the Young Comunist and Party nuclei, the sending of delegates to the unions, and municipalities, the leadership of struggles. It is important to stimulate interest among the working children in the fate of their comrades of other capitalist countries and to inform them on the conditions of the children in the USSR by means of mutual correspondence.

While Most of the Work of the Leagues Is to Be Conducted in the Schools and among the Working Children, They Must Not Neglect Their Work among the Children in the Street and on Playgrounds

The majority of the children spent most of their free hours in these places. Here is where they play and develop their faculties, where they think for themselves, where they are their own organizers of games and excursions, of experiments and discoveries.

Closely studying the games and the life of these children the nuclei and the groups must work in the yards, streets, sport grounds, skating rinks and halls, instruct some Pioneers to organize the children in these places and to lend to their games a proletarian character. Punch and Judy shows and living newspapers, radio and collective recitations, marches and orchestras are the things which should enliven the workers' streets in the summer. This work is also to be conducted on the playgrounds and in swimming pools, on the skating rinks, and in gymnasium halls. It is an important task of the children's leagues to fight for new sanitary, spacious and free playgrounds, swimming pools, skating rinks and clubs. The children in the street and in the workers' sport organizations should be rallied around these slogans and by means of demonstrations, moving pictures, collective recitals, the demands should be advocated. They should also be advocated in the tenement house papers of the Communist Party and by issuing leaflets to the children.

Work among Children in Opponent Leagues

Hitherto this work has been grossly neglected. It must be the task of the nuclei to create a proletarian united front by means of intensive work in the school, by means of live forms of inside work, in order to draw the proletarian children of the opponent organizations into our struggle.

The bourgeoisie and the Social-Democracy are now trying particularly to keep the working-class children away from their class and are creating for this purpose thousands of different kinds of children's organizations. Only intensive work in the school in the interests of the toiling children will make the struggle against the opponents successful. One of the methods would be the publication of special material to the children of the opponent organizations. It is necessary to work among the children in the Social-Democratic organizations—the Red Falcons, the Friends of Children, the Socialist Sunday Schools—who can be won over for the struggle in the interests of the children in order to create an opposition in those organizations.

A special struggle should be waged by the children *at home*. This activity need not be confined to the winning over of children alone. The Pioneers should try to win over the adults, especially working-class mothers, urging them to read the Party press and to become interested in the Party.

This activity requires also a struggle in the family against backward ideas (religion, petty-bourgeois tendencies). Through the organization of Red corners, through the rejection of bourgeois holidays and customs, through the propagation of proletarian holidays, through assistance to mothers, through collective bringing up of the children, the Pioneer can become the exponent of Communist ideas at home.

To liven up our mass work such forms as the living newspaper, entertainments, demonstrations, films, lantern slides, mass games, excursions, rambles, public reading of the children's press, festivals and camps, are good means. More emphasis must be

laid on that. Here some of the methods used by the bourgeois children's organizations, especially the Boy Scouts, should be tried, since they stimulate the interest and initiative of the children, enhance the sturdiness of the proletarian children and are attractive to them: sporting games, codes, signals, following of trails, map reading, hiking with a compass, camps, mass gatherings, orchestras, uniforms, military parades, etc.).

To stimulate interest and to satisfy the requirements of the children it would be expedient to organize circles in the school nuclei and groups which could be attended by Pioneers as well as by unorganized children. These circles are not to take the place of the nuclei, but should help them out in their work.

The nature of these circles may be of different kinds. A circle of correspondents of the school paper or the children's press has as its object to speak with the correspondents about their tasks, about the writing of reports, about reporting at the playgrounds, etc.; to acquaint the children with the technique of the printing of a paper, to develop specialists, draftsmen, story writers, poets, etc.; to enlarge the number of correspondents, to discuss opponent and foreign children's papers, to organize criticisms of papers, etc.

The sport circle emphasizes the importance of workers' sports for workers' children and tries to encourage sport. It speaks also of the struggle against the bourgeois children's organizations for the unity of the workers' sport movement. It can organize shooting practice, exercises and military games with the object of developing the faculties of self-defense among the working-class children.

After good practice the musical circle can contribute to the enlivenment of mass work. It can encourage and develop individual capacities, the composing of songs, etc.

There can also be circles for the production of posters, illustrated magazines, etc., circles for the organization of living newspapers, photo circles, radio circles, handiwork circles.

The organization of political classes for older children is of political importance. These should deal with all political current

questions and fundamental problems through the wall newspapers, lectures and discussions.

The Children's Press

One of the best weapons in our struggle, the best way of establishing contact with the unorganized children, is the children's press. The chief task of this press should be to secure the cooperation of the children and contantly to criticize them. Our children's press must be the press of the proletarian children themselves. That is why the utmost attention must be paid to the development of a correspondents' movement. The children correspondents must be drawn in for systematic work in the press. This is possible only if the editors carefully and favorably consider the correspondence, give their replies and take interest in encouraging the correspondents. The children correspondents' movement is important not only in connection with the proletarian revolutionary and child-like character of our press; it is also a great organizational factor which enables us to know the situation and the sentiment of the working-class children, enables us to penetrate the schools and workshops and to talk to the children. The organization of children's correspondents' circles, in connection with the school papers, the children's columns in the Party papers and the national press, is one of the best methods of lively mass work. That is why the children correspondents should carry their own emblems (pens) in time of demonstrations and special material should be issued for the recruiting of more correspondents.

The central children's papers must more than heretofore be of a child-like character. They must represent the interests of the children, their contents should be such as would satisfy the requirements of the children, and they should deal with all possible phases of life. Side by side with correspondence from children they should contain articles on current political issues, revolutionary stories and poems, articles on foreign countries, articles on natural science and technique, humorous stories, jokes, puzzles, etc., of interest to children. Children's afternoons, festivals and demonstrations should be organized as a means of advertising

these papers. The sale of the national paper should be systematically organized jointly with the Communist Party so that they reach the widest possible sections of working-class children.

A good complement to the national papers is the institution of children's pages in the Party press. They make it possible not only to deal with local events of interest to children, to publish articles in the local dialect; they also guarantee steady readers who cannot be reached through the national children's press, they enlarge the number of children correspondents and inform wide circles of adult workers, especially women, on the problems of the children's movement. It is important that the editors of local or district publications place the children's page in the hands of the children's bureaus so that the political aspect of the page be guaranteed.

The principal forms of children's papers are the school paper, the district paper, and the paper of the working children. These papers can deal with the questions of immediate interest to the children. In these papers the children are not only correspondents, but also the editors, printers and sellers. Greatest attention is to be paid to giving these papers a lively form. The creation of these papers should be assisted by the centre by means of technical and editorial instructions, by means of regular publication of material for these papers. Simultaneously contests should be organized as to the most regular publication of school and district papers, the best school correspondence circle, which should be furthered by means of introduction of a column with criticism in the functionaries' organs.

In addition to this press there is also to be mentioned the publication of special literature, which is now very poor. Interesting literature which is now skilfully used only by the bourgeoisie must be replaced by cheap but good revolutionary literature.

THE END

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